1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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be retained. A southern Orokaiva would be indignant to hear himself described as Binandele or Mambare.

When Sir William MacGregor ascended the river Mambare in March 1894 he was greeted with cries of *Orokaiva!* from those who wished to be friendly. 'On the Mambare', he wrote, 'the password is "orokaiva", which seems to mean "man of peace". It, at all events, puts one on a friendly footing.'[1] Then apparently, as now, the native of the north was given to vociferous welcoming of his friends. Nowadays, when a party of travellers enters a village, men, women, and children will send up an irregular chorus of cries which may be almost deafening and disconcerting to a European, though it fails entirely to affect the *sangfroid* of a well-bred Papuan. Strangely enough the cry of *Orokaiva!* is heard now comparatively seldom. It has been supplanted by *Oro, oro!* which will be heard in almost every village.

It appears, however, that *Orokaiva!* was never the universal cry of the whole people. Different tribes had their distinctive cries of welcome. Among the Binandele it was commonly *Tepo Tepo!* which, as the word means 'empty' or in pidgin English 'for nothing', may be taken as a cry of reassurance from the villagers to their visitors. The conventional cry of the Aiga was *Javau javau!* with the second syllable of the word prolonged into a cacophonous shriek. Those who used it could give no interpretation of this startling mode of salutation. The 'Salt Water' People sometimes used the cries *Pesau!* and *Savesau!* I am told that at Bakumbari on the coast, for instance, visitors from the north would be hailed with *Pesau!* and those from the south with *Savesau!* and it was suggested that the former was the name of a certain fish, and that the latter meant 'swimmers', though in neither case was the appositeness of the words made at all clear. It is plain then that, prior to the coming of the whites, *Orokaiva!* was not universally used by the Binandele-speaking peoples.

The fact appears to be that the first explorers who penetrated the Mambare heard this cry, which they interpreted as one of peace or welcome, and accordingly took up as a

[1] *Annual Report*, 1893–4, p. 33.

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useful password. It is evident that they used it in prosecuting their explorations in parts where the cry was not even known, for an old man of the Aiga tribe told how on the first coming of the whites to his village they had entered shouting *Orokaiva, orokaiva!* and he, then a youngster, not knowing what they meant, had joined with the others in answering *Evari peka!* 'Sleep in peace!' To be short, however, the characteristic cry used by some of the people has been adopted as a name for all of them. Even now, it is true, a native of the north may refuse to acknowledge the appelation, and I know a diminutive armed constable who threatened assault on a Kiwai corporal solely because the latter had referred to him as an Orokaiva. But none of this need deter us from using what is a useful and happily chosen name.

The actual meaning of the word remains in doubt, though it is interesting to note that in modern speech it stands for native tobacco. Here again, however, a similar difficulty arises: is the name anterior to the coming of the whites, as some informants have maintained it is; or is it a comparatively modern transference of a name from the people to one of their distinctive possessions, viz. the inferior kind of tobacco? It may be worth adding that *oro* means 'men's house', and *kaiva*, a mysterious word, is the name of one of the principal kinds of taro.

Ethnic Neighbours

The ethnic neighbours of the Orokaiva may be briefly enumerated. (1) On the sea coast immediately to the south are a branch of the Okeina[1] who are in every respect closely akin to them. Beyond these are the Baruga people of the Bariji river who speak a different language and are culturally distinct, though generally similar in appearance. (2) In the Hydrographer Range and on the southern slopes of Mount Lamington are found the group of peoples commonly named 'Managalasi'. Between these and the Orokaiva the distinction is immediately apparent, not only in culture but also in physique. The Managalasi are as a rule lighter in

[1] Another group of this people occurs near Cape Nelson, North-Eastern Division.

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and finally paints the dugout a dull red with ochre or clay, possibly picking out a zigzag in black at prow and stern. The craft is launched with no ceremony save a 'trial spin', and may or may not be given a personal name.

The general appearance of the canoe may be judged from

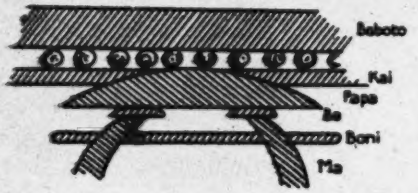

FIG. 14. Attachment of Platform to Hull of Canoe.

the accompanying sketch. The parts are named as follows:

Dugout	*ma*.
Platform	*ma-bua*.
Outrigger float	*taona* (from its resemblance to the banana *taona*).
Outrigger poles	*ma-tu*.
Outrigger pegs	*ma-gi* (because made of spear-wood, *gi*).
Prow	*Kopuru* (head).
Stern	*Ao*.
Points at stern and prow	*papa* (the same word is used for sago thorns).
Incised zigzags at prow and stern	*dogaro* (ear).

Between the platform and the hull the method of attachment is somewhat complicated. Along the two rims of the canoe are laid split rails or slats (*be*), their upper surface being rounded (which incidentally provides a moderately comfortable seat for the paddler who sits with one buttock on either rim and his feet in the dugout). The actual supports for the platform are two curiously shaped pieces of wood (*papa*), one at either end, which are laid transversely on the *be*, and thus intervene between the platform and the hull of the canoe. These two *papa* are slightly hollowed on the upper side so as to form troughs in which rest the two transverse rails (*bai*) that form the basis of the platform. The platform is made fast to the hull by lashing firmly to

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VIII

THE PLANT EMBLEM

The Nature of the Heratu

614 778 192 THE clan has a distinctive emblem or associate. Among the Aiga tribe (of whom my information is the fullest) this is called the *heratu*, and throughout the remainder of this chapter the word *heratu* will be used as the equivalent of plant-emblem. *Kenatu* is the form in the Binandele and Tain-Daware languages; in Wasida a different word, *hae*, is used; and, throughout the whole Orokaiva people, alternative names are *evobo* and *abije*, or some nearly equivalent forms.

614 778 It may safely be said that every clan has a *heratu*, and almost invariably it is some plant or tree. The Orokaiva are mostly forest people. In the tropical bush there is infinite variety, and (what makes the bush so difficult for the timber-getter and so easy for the native) this variety is for ever repeating itself. Give a native a moment and he will look about him and pluck you his *heratu*. The botanical names are of no consequence—fortunately so, as I cannot give them. There are large forest trees such as *Boruga* and *Siruga*, the 'canoe tree'; creepers and bushes; grasses and weeds. Sometimes they have an economic value; commonly they have none whatever. It is certain that they are not selected as *heratu* because of any use they may have. They are seen most frequently in the form of a twig or an unpretentious handful of grass.

Since the *heratu* is in so great a majority of cases a vegetable species, the phrase 'plant emblem' seems to be justified. There are, however, some interesting variants, including a number of bird associates and certain simple emblematic devices. Though I describe these somewhat in detail it must not be forgotten that they are relatively speaking a very small category, and that the *heratu* is normally a plant or tree.

In the Wasida tribe I came across three bird associates,

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and believe that each of the four words is applicable to the same loose concept.

(4) The fourth of these features, which lend individuality to the tribe, is the fact that it is constantly at enmity with various of its neighbours, and that in the fighting which so frequently ensues it is a unit and not divided against itself. It is not to be imagined, of course, that the component clans of any tribe remained at permanent peace with one another, for that is hardly in Orokaiva nature. But inter-clan fights were not characterized by the deliberate blood-thirstiness of the tribal raid, and they resulted in comparatively few casualties. Furthermore—what is an important distinction [266] —there was never, except in the most abnormal instances, any cannibalism within the tribe. The inter-clan fight is called *embogi*, and the raid or tribal expedition *isoro*. Most of the fighting described in the following chapter will be of the latter kind, in which men of one tribe attack those of another. Friends or allies are called *tobo* and enemies *ki-tobo*, and although the friendship or affinity between certain tribes allowed the use of the former word, it would be fair to say that in most cases the tribes were mutually *ki-tobo*.

We are justified in adding a fifth essential in the delimitation of the tribe, viz. the recognition of a common name. I have already spoken (p. 2) of the difficulty of naming ethnic units. In the largest groups, as we see them, there is no recognition within the group itself of a common name; but as we descend the scale we reach a point where such a name comes into use, where the members of the group are able to say 'We are so and so'. Among the Orokaiva we reach this stage when we come to the tribes. They are in fact the largest units which are able consistently to name themselves. I would suggest therefore that the use of a common name, implying as it does a recognition of unity, is a very essential factor in the individuality of the tribe.

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The ideal Orokaiva is not a fat man, but well-conditioned.

Either by nature or by manner of life he is prevented from 826
'running to fat', so that the ideal never borders on adiposity. 881
But he admires plumpness as he abhors skinniness. I was 192
never able to discover a word in his language for fat, stout, or obese (indeed, there are, generally speaking, no such figures to be seen); but for a comparatively well-fleshed body he simply uses the word 'good'. Altogether I think we may attach a good deal of value to the native's own explanation of seclusion, and may conclude that the principal purpose of that seclusion is to make the initiate put on flesh, to bring him as near to an admired condition of plumpness as the physical make-up and the *milieu* of an Orokaiva will permit.

Just as the native admires a well-conditioned body, so he [732]
has a peculiar sensitiveness regarding physical deformity, and a horror of projecting bones and skinniness. An interesting evidence of this is found in the swear-words or terms of abuse which he uses. Besides such expressions as *Sovai-ta-mei* (son of a *sovai*) and *Pureambo* (waster or lazy-bones), there are *Temburite* (skinny-ribs), *Teperete* (spindle-shanks), *Kumuperete* (which means that the backbone is visible), *Abo-pokumo* (too much of the sacral vertebrae), *Utu-jabuti* (elephantiasis legs), *Tunga-dipori* (long neck), *Tengeu-pepeki* (big ears). Not a few of his ritual precautions 881
are aimed at preventing these deformities, and it appears 826
that he is specially liable to contract them at the end of his 751
seclusion. Hence the precautionary and purificatory observances which we see at the end of the cycle. For instance, the initiate is not allowed to sit on the ground for fear of *baupeni* (elephantiasis of the scrotum). It is necessary to provide a mat for him to sit on while he is being decorated, and a log while he is going through the *ate-ate* ceremony. Similarly there are various precautions against baldness, which I have mentioned; and before he is quite free to come and go as he pleases he must pass through a general purificatory rite, viz. that of the *suna*. The object of the *suna* is expressly to prevent bodily deformities or afflictions such as the prevalent glandular swelling in the groin or the swelling or distortion of joints.

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'Begone now to a good place, not an ill one; a place where there are no march flies nor mosquitoes; where there are pigs in plenty, and taro in plenty. Send us pigs, and send us taro, and we will make thee a feast'. Instances such as these will show that the native believes his food supply to be governed, or at least influenced, by the spirits of the dead, and that accordingly he has at least one practical reason for seeking their goodwill. It may be said definitely that, before the advent of the Taro cult, the Orokaiva looked to the spirits of his dead for the prosperity of his garden, not to the spirits of the taro itself.

It is necessary to consider briefly the native conception of a 'spirit'. The words *binei*, *sovai*, &c. (p. 25) stand generally for the being which in one form or another continues to exist after the death and burial of the body. It includes rather than coincides with the word 'ghost', as it covers a variety of conceptions, from the unseen and unsubstantial entities who climb the little ladders and dine imperceptibly upon the food offerings, to the reincarnated animals and reptiles of the forest or stream, or further, to the indescribable monsters who abduct men and women, scatter their wits, and leave them to wander in the bush. But all these conceptions have this much in common, that they belong to the life after death.

Now the Taro cult has spread abroad another word. *atiti*; or rather it has added a new meaning to this word Aiga informants and others far removed from the original home of the cult sometimes nowadays use the word *atiti* as synonymous with the being who survives death. But in the Orokaiva tongue *atiti* stands for shadow, reflection, or the mere appearance of anything, be it dead or alive. It does not necessarily imply death, nor does it cover the same vivid concept as *sovai* or *binei*. The new use of the word arises from a misunderstanding. It is acknowledged to belong, in this sense, to the Taro vocabulary, i.e. to a set of terms which have been made popular by the new cult and are used freely by those who only half understand them (vide pp. 39, 48). Buninia dreamed

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that he met the *atiti* of the taro plant: those who have since been infected by the cult dream, or profess to dream, that they meet their ancestors or deceased relatives. But they sometimes employ the new word *atiti* (simply because it is fashionable) instead of the old words *binei*, *sovai*, *embaki*, &c. The later converts grasped the word, but failed to grasp the idea. Buninia's conception of taro spirits seems hardly in keeping with popular belief; consequently it made but little headway. While the practices or ritual of the cult offered peculiar attractions to the masses, the somewhat new-fangled doctrine was unconsciously rejected, or, more accurately, relapsed into the old form.

A few instances may illustrate the close association between the Taro cult and the dead. A Taro man of note is taking the leading part in a garden ceremony, which consists principally in treating the taro with medicines, and which is accompanied by the invariable feasting and singing. In the songs he acts as choragus or *vorsänger*, and the repeated theme of them is 'Father, give me Taro'. He calls on his father, one Sireri, by name to stand by in the bush and witness the dancing and conviviality which is going forward in the village. He describes to me how from time to time he is visited by his dead parent. Lying down to sleep he leaves a plate of taro by his side. Presently Sireri comes and eats a little, as much as a rat might nibble, for instance, and then gives his son a leaf called *Moso* for taro medicine, telling him to leave a fragment in the hole where the taro-top is to be planted. The dreamer does not see his father but hears his voice, and then wakes to find the leaf of *Moso* in his hand.

Another Taro man tells how he acquired his knowledge from his brother-in-law, named Panjari. Panjari had been visited in his sleep by the *sovai* of his father and mother. They had taken him away with them to the *sovai-ta-na*, or 'the ghost village', and there given him taro medicine and pig medicine, with instructions how to use them for

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Taro men seize one another's hands in an iron grasp, and both fall into a violent paroxysm. In such cases, it is said, the knowledge that the one is possessed passes to the other with the first contact of their hands, and then, for some reason, both fall into the condition of *jipari*.

The reason for universal hand-shaking is said to be that of ensuring the friendliness of the Taro man. I have suggested that this general amity among all followers of the cult was one of its best features. It may be, however, that the basis for it is not entirely above suspicion. The explanation more commonly offered is that the spirits require all and sundry to remain on good terms with their human media, the Taro men; they may be offended and cause some illness to any one who is disrespectful or off-hand in his manner. On the whole, however, it may be the Taro man himself who is the real object of fear, and all others will see to it that they 'keep in' with him lest he do them a bad turn. The charge of sorcery will call for further discussion presently.

Lastly, there is the matter of the distinctive cries of the Taro cult. In an Orokaiva village it is the custom to welcome new-comers with loud cries, which in their origin probably signify that the intentions of the villagers are peaceable. As is well known, it was the cry of '*Orokaiva!*' which gave their popular name to the northern tribes, because the early whites heard it so often as they approached a village. Different tribes had different calls: to some the cry '*Oro!*' (which is much more commonly heard than '*Orokaiva!*') was not known until popularized by the *Baigona* cult. With the advent of the Taro cult there came into vogue a new call, '*Oroda!*' or '*Orota!*' sometimes '*Orodara!*' which has now become a shibboleth. Wherever one hears '*Oroda!*' it is safe to assume the Taro cult has penetrated. The derivative meaning of the word is matter for conjecture only. '*Oro*' means the 'men's house' in the Binandale languages, and perhaps the ultimate meaning of the word is 'men'. But we cannot assume with certainty that *oro* the men's house

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and *oro* the cry of welcome are the same words. *Oroda* appears to be simply *oro* with the associative particle *da*.

Another very quaint Taro password is '*Kia kia!*' uttered as a man is yawning, much as we would say, 'Oh dear!' No witness ever succeeded in explaining this curious custom, which, as far as I know, belongs to the Taro cult alone. It provides a good instance of the way in which details of practice are faithfully transmitted while their significance is entirely lost. A number of other Taro expressions have come into popular use in the same way. *Kasamba* and *tinogu* have been mentioned already, but there were numerous fictitious synonyms, possibly of a respectful or euphemistic character, which achieved some popularity although they were probably learned simply by rote. I am indebted to Mr. Elder for several examples: the dog (*sino*) was called *eupu*; sago (*ambe*) was called *orai*; and pigs (*pu*) were called *puyoroba*.

8. *The Jipari or Shaking-fit*

I now have to deal with what is the most disagreeable feature of the cult, viz. the uncontrolled bodily movements or paroxysms which, unfortunately, the Taro man believes to be an important part of his 'work'. These paroxysms were characteristic of the *Baigona* cult before, though they then took a form somewhat different. The word used by the *Baigona* men to describe this condition was usually *dutari*, to tremble. It might be used of the ague or shivering fit which is merely the result of cold; for instance, a youth after spending a long time in the river in pursuit of eels, was said to *dutari* when he was merely shivering violently. The expression most commonly employed for the shaking-fit of the Taro indicates a somewhat different style. *Jipari* is used of the sling (*tapai*) as it is whirled before the stone is released; also of a branch swaying or swinging in the wind. There is a certain well-known character among the Tain Daware tribe who is named Jipari. As so often among the

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Orokaiva, a nickname ousts a 'christening' name, and in this instance the nickname arose from an exploit well remembered by the hero and his friends. In a cannibal raid he was struck on the head with a stone club, but even after this experience managed to elude his enemy and rushed back to his friends. In response to their anxious inquiries, he could give no other answer for the time being than a violent shaking of the head. So, in commemoration of his signal hardihood and the manner in which his head had reacted under the blow, he was dubbed Jipari, or 'Shaker'. The movements of the shaking-fit are not confined to a jerking of the head, but since this is very characteristic, and, as far as I know, was not practised by the *Baigona* men, it has served as a distinctive name for the paroxysms of the Taro.

These manifestations should be distinguished from certain others which are more familiar. They are said by the natives to resemble madness or *yauyauri*, a term which includes everything between imbecility and a violent insanity. They are sometimes accompanied, I am told, by a swoon or trance, called *gishivi*; but the *gishivi* is of course a phenomenon well known to natives (though I have heard no explanation of it in native psychology). Thirdly, they resemble the temporary maniacal fit called *bibi*, which is said to be frequent enough, though I have seen no example of it. *Bibi* is evidently akin to the 'amok', and may be of a dangerous character. It is, however, a transient, and apparently an individual, not a collective, phenomenon.

We have already seen something of the shaking-fit among the dancers at Korisata (p. 20), but I may describe one or two definite instances in greater detail. A man named Tatiko was sitting on a verandah during a Taro feast. There was the usual amount of high spirits in the village but no sign of irrational behaviour among the others present. Without warning Tatiko began to shake violently, with a very rapid jerking of his limbs. His fists were clenched and his face contorted. The movements

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Ihipa took care to provide himself with a number of bulbs, intending to plant them in his own distant country. Presuming the plant flourishes it will be used by Ihipa according to his instructions. He will impart the secret to his nearest friends. The leaves will retain their supposed power, but it will be readily imagined that the explanation will in time be forgotten. The hairy coat of the leaf will not suggest the hairy coat of the dog unless there is always some one to point out the resemblance. And the association with the man-hunter Totoima will probably be lost sight of when once the plant has been removed from the site of Totoima's activities.

It is impossible to be sure of the reason for the use of any particular specific in the first instance; but it is equally impossible to believe that specifics originated in a causeless or haphazard manner. We can only suggest some original association or analogy which may or may not be the true one. However, it seems probable that some such associative link did in the first instance give a pseudological justification for the use of the leaf (or other object). The object was in the first instance really a symbol. In course of time the symbolism was obliterated from memory and the symbol became a specific.

While the hypothesis may cover most instances it does not necessarily cover all. We may discuss the two words *inja* and *saruka*, both of them standing for any kind of evil specific. Of the third familiar word with the same meaning, viz. *kai*, I have never heard any explanation, but it appears that *inja* is the name of a particular kind of bush vine, and *saruka* that of a tree with a highly odoriferous bark. They were both apparently typical specifics and their names have been applied to the general category of evil specifics. If a man were done to death by the use of the actual vine *inja* this fact would be recognizable from the fact that at death he would be speechless. His entrails would be strangled or tied up (*tigari*) within him as if by the strands of creeper, and it appears that he would die in a kind of intestinal cramp. This is probably

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one of those extemporized explanations which, however far from the original truth of the matter, are nevertheless illustrative of native habits of thought. It squares well enough with our hypothesis that the specific is originally a symbol. The creeper—a native's ever-ready twine or rope—is the very thing to tie the victim's entrails in a knot.

Regarding the *saruka* there was no adequate explanation forthcoming, the only point being that the victim would be able to speak as he was about to draw his final breath and would therefore be able to name the sorcerer who had brought him to that unhappy pass. But the fact that the *saruka* has a stinking bark suggests that a substance might be used originally as an evil specific simply by reason of its unpleasant properties, and with none but the very slightest trace of symbolism. There may be some substances regarded as inherently noxious which it is only necessary to bring into contact with the intended victim in order to do him an injury. We have already seen how this can be done (pp. 191–3). It is quite another question whether from our point of view such substances are really harmful, that is to say, whether the native knows and makes use of any real poisons, and this may be deferred until the next section.

Dismissing this minor question we may consider the psychological justification for the use of the specific, i.e. for the agent of inexplicable powers which makes the mere procedure effective. If the procedure be based on hope, if it be in its merely impulsive stage no more than an imaginary fulfilment of a desire, then any assistance will be welcomed. If the assistance be that of an unknown quantity, possessing a fund of power or *mana* of an unknown extent, then it is all the more likely to be made an object of confidence. The confidence is essentially implicit, both in the sense that it is unreasoned and in the sense that it is complete. The magic-maker, who may have small faith in his more or less elaborate procedure, thrusts the responsibility on to the unknown and rests secure in his confidence of the outcome.